

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 NEA-10 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 AID-20 EB-11 CIEP-02

STR-08 OMB-01 CEA-02 COME-00 IO-13 ACDA-19 RSR-01

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R 091728 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 917

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 16034

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, US: EEC

SUBJ: FRENCH REACTION TO " YEAR OF EUROPE"

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SUMMARY: GOF REACTIONS TO U. S. PROPOSALS TO REVITALIZE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP ARE APPEARING IN OBVIOUSLY WELL BACK-GROUNDED PARIS PRESS COMMENTARY. MAIN THRUST OF ARTICLES IS THAT FRENCH:

- A. ARE UNCERTAIN WHAT U. S. IS AFTER;
- B. REMAIN UNCONVINCED RE ANY FUNDAMENTAL NEED TO REVITALIZE U. S./ EUROPEAN TIES;
- C. ARE SUSPICIOUS U. S. IS ATTEMPTING TO CREATE " NEW STRUCTURE" AMONG NON- COMMUNIST INDUSTRIAL POWERS, BUT
- D. ARE PREPARED TO DISCUSS QUESTION FURTHER IN BILATERAL OR EXISTING MULTI- LATERAL FORA.

ARTICLES SUGGEST TOUGH FRENCH LINE AT JUNE 4-5 EC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING WAS BASED ON:

- A. RESERVED ATTITUDE TOWARDS U. S. PROPOSALS;
 - B. RECOGNITION FRENCH MIGHT FIND THEMSELVES ISOLATED IN ANY MULTI- LATERAL U. S./ EC MEETING, AND
 - C. LONG- HELD FRENCH ANTIPATHY TOWARDS PERMITTING EC TO TAKE ON A CLEARLY POLITICAL ROLE AND CONSEQUENT DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN A DISTINCTION BETWEEN EUROPEAN POLITICAL DIRECTORS ACTIVITIES AND THOSE OF EC.
- END SUMMARY.

1. AUTHORITATIVE LE MONDE IN JUNE 9 ARTICLE REPORTS THAT FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT TOLD CLOSED DOOR FRENCH SENATE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE MEETING THAT THE EUROPEAN LEADERS AND PARTICULARLY THE FRENCH DO NOT CLEARLY UNDERSTAND WHAT THE U. S. WANTS AND WHY SUDDENLY THE U. S. DECIDED IN 1973 THAT U. S./ EUROPEAN RELATIONS SHOULD BE REVISED. JOBERT REPORTEDLY SAID THE FRENCH BELIEVE THE U. S. IDEAS COULD BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWING:

- 1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS NOT WELL ADAPTED TO PRESENT TIMES;

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- 2. THE U. S. WANTS TO ORGANIZE, ON A GLOBAL BASIS, AND A GROUPING OF NON- COMMUNIST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES;
- 3. U. S. CONSIDERS EUROPEAN UNIFICATION IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF;
- 4. THE U. S. HAS GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND EUROPE

REGIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES;

5. THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ATLANTIC ORGANIZATION DOES NOT CONFORM TO EUROPEAN REGIONAL PREOCCUPATIONS;

6. U. S. WISHES THAT THE EUROPEANS FACE THE U. S. AS A SINGLE INTERLOCUTOR;

7. U. S. CONTRIBUTION TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS TOO HEAVY.

2. LE MONDE REPORTS JOBERT AS SAYING THAT NEITHER THE REYKJAVIK MEETING NOR THE THREE MEETINGS HE HAD WITH DR. KISSINGER ALLOWED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO LEARN ANY MORE ABOUT THE US POSITION (JOBERT' S STATEMENT TO SENATE COMMITTEE PRECEDED HIS JUNE 7 MEETING WITH DR. KISSINGER).

3. REMAINDER OF LE MONDE ARTICLE DEALS WITH FRENCH VIEW THAT CONVERSATIONS RE " YEAR OF EUROPE" WILL CONTINUE AT SEVERAL LEVELS INCLUDING " FOREIGN MINISTRY POLITICAL DIRECTORS" AND IN APPROPRIATE EXISTING FORA. QUESTION OF WHETHER DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD MEET IN MULTI- LATERAL OR BI- LATERAL FRAMEWORK IS SITED AS HAVING BEEN PART OF " A MISUNDERSTANDING". LE MONDE STATES THAT " IT IS NOT YET ESTABLISHED IF THE CONVERSATIONS AMONG POLITICAL DIRECTORS WILL BE BI- LATERAL OR MULTI- LATERAL." LE MONDE ARTICLE CONCLUDED BY NOTING FRENCH SEE NO PROBLEMS IF US PRESIDENT DURING HIS VISIT TO BRUSSELS MEETS WITH PRESIDENT OF EC AND THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE COMMUNITIES' COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

4. JUNE 9 PARIS HERALD TRIBUNE REPORTS FRENCH SOURCES AS SAYING THAT IN RESPONSE TO A U. S. AIDE MEMOIRE THE GOF HAS PROPOSED THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS RE US INTENTIONS:

A. WHAT KIND OF ORGANIZATION DOES WASHINGTON WANT? WHO
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IS TO PARTICIPATE AND WHAT IS TO BE ITS SCOPE? IS IT INTENDED TO " GLOBALIZE" SPECIFIC AREAS SUCH AS DEFENSE, MONETARY AND TRADE? WHY CANNOT EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS BE USED? WHAT DID MR KISSINGER MEAN BY A NEW " UNIFYING FRAMEWORK," A " NEW RELATIONSHIP" AND " NEW TYPES OF COOPERATIVE ACTION?"

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B. WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE ALLIANCE STRUCTURE AS IT NOW EXISTS,
AND WHAT ARE THE US PROPOSALS FOR ADAPTING IT?

C. HOW DOES WASHINGTON NOW INTERPRET EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

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AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD?

D. WHAT IS TO BE THE NEW " ORDER OF RESPONSIBILITIES"? IS
EUROPE TO MAINTAIN A REGIONAL ROLE AND THE UNITED STATES

A GLOBAL ROLE IN THE NEW RELATIONSHIP?

E. WHAT IS TO BE THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY'S
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION TO DEAL WITH THE UNITED STATES?

F. DOES THE US WANT EUROPE TO TAKE ON A GREATER ROLE
IN AMERICA'S INTEREST, IN EUROPE'S INTEREST, IN THE WORLD'S
INTEREST?

G. WHAT IS WASHINGTON'S PROPOSAL TO REDUCE THE DISPROPOR-
TION BETWEEN WESTERN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN MILITARY
EFFORTS OR DOES WASHINGTON TO MAKE A PROPOSAL?

5. TRIBUNE ARTICLE CITES FRENCH SOURCES AS FURTHER STATING
THAT:

A. FRANCE PREFERS TO TREAT THE SEPARATE PROBLEMS OF TRADE,
MONETARY AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE MATTERS IN DISTINCT FORUMS
BUT RECOGNIZES THAT THERE IS THE PURELY POLITICAL PROBLEM
OF DEFINING DIRECTION. REYKJAVIK MEETING HAD PROVIDED
THE BEGINNING OF AN ANSWER. BUT NOT ALL THE QUESTIONS
COULD BE ANSWERED IN TIME FOR AN ATLANTIC SUMMIT
MEETING DURING MR. NIXON'S EUROPEAN TRIP THIS FALL.

B. FOR THE MOMENT FRANCE DOES NOT SEE THE INTEREST ON
SUCH A SUMMIT MEETING. THE PRESENT INTENSE ROUND OF
BILATERAL DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES WOULD CONTINUE BUT FRENCH
DOUBTED THAT IT WOULD RESULT IN A DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS
MEETING BY JULY AS DESIRED BY WASHINGTON. BUT THEY
ADMITTED THAT FRANCE AGREED IN REYKJAVIK TO SUCH A
MULTILATERAL MEETING WHEN THE TIME IS RIPE. (SIC)

C. FRANCE HAD NOT TRIED IN LUXEMBOURG
TO BLOCK A COMMON EEC APPROACH TO ATLANTIC PROBLEMS
BUT THE EEC FIRST HAD TO DEFINE ITS OWN COMMON POSITION.
FRANCE STILL WANTED A TOUGHER EEC MANDATE FOR
THE COMING TRADE NEGOTIATIONS. FRANCE ALSO EXPRESSED
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DISPLEASURE THAT WASHINGTON WAS DRAGGING ITS OWN FEET
ON REACHING A NEW MONETARY AGREEMENT.

D. THERE IS A DEEP FRENCH SUSPICION OF BEING DRAGGED INTO
ANY KIND OF NEW ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE BEFORE KNOWING
ITS PRECISE OUTLINE. FRENCH POSITION, APPEARS TO BE THAT
PROOF IS NEEDED THAT COLLAPSE IS IMMINENT BEFORE ANY NEW
CONSTRUCTIONS CAN BEGIN.

E. IN THE COMING BILATERAL MEETINGS THE EUROPEANS WOULD
PRESENT THEIR OWN PRIORITIES FOR THINGS TO BE DONE AND
WASHINGTON WOULD THEN HAVE A CHANCE TO STUDY THEM.

F. MUCH OF THE FRENCH CONCERN WAS BASED ON CONSIDERATIONS FOR THIRD COUNTRIES. IT WAS A DELICATE BUSINESS TO DEFINE ANY NEW ORGANIZATION IN TERMS OF INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES WITHOUT ENCOUNTERING PROBLEMS WITH THE DEVELOPING AND COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

G. A PREVAILING FRENCH CONCERN IS THAT THE SITUATION IN WESTERN EUROPE MAY BE CHANGED BY THE SUPERPOWER DETENTE. THIS COULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO A WITHDRAWAL OF US TROOPS, THE NEUTRALIZATION OF CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE EXPOSURE OF FRANCE. FOR THIS REASON, FRANCE HAS OPPOSED THE FORCE REDUCTIONS TALKS IN VIENNA AND INSISTED ON THE CLARIFICATION OF US INTENTIONS BEFORE ENTERING INTO ANY NEW BROAD AGREEMENTS INVOLVING A SHIFTING OF RESPONSIBILITIES. IRWIN

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